

A
REMONSTRANCE
Of the state of the
KINGDOME.

Die Mercurii 15. Decemb. 1641

It is this day resolved upon the Question by
the HOUSE of

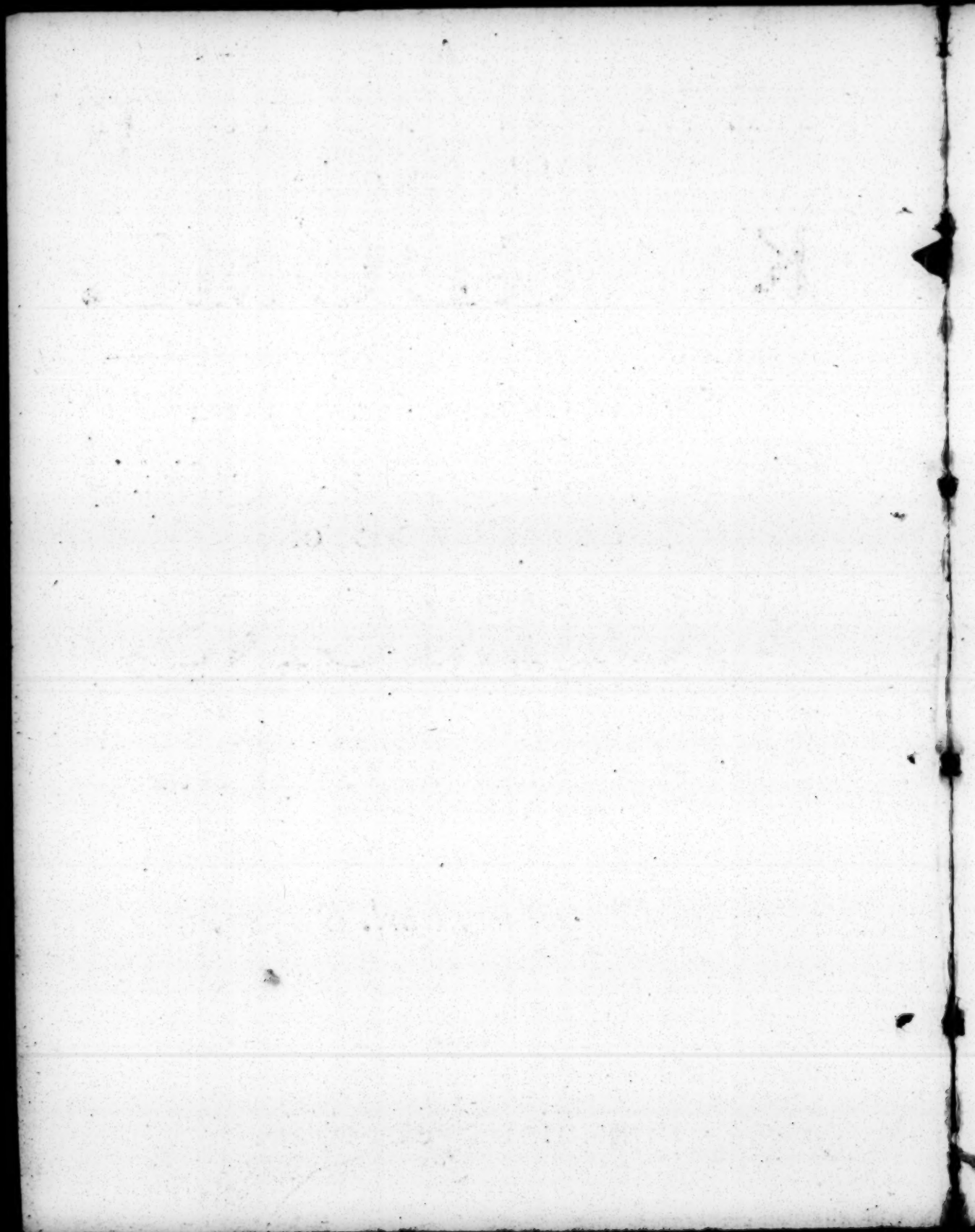
COMMONS,

That Order shall be now given for the Prin-
ting of this REMONSTRANCE of the
State of the Kingdome.

H. Elsing Cler. Parl. D. Com.



Printed in the yeare 1641.



THE REMONSTRANCE.

THE *COMMONS* in this present *Parliament* assembled, having with much earnestnesse, and faithfulnessse of affection, and zeale to the publike good of this Kingdome, and His Majesties honour and service for the space of twelve moneths, wraſtled with the great dangers and feares, the pressing miseries and calamities, the various distempers and disorders, which had not only assaulted, but even overwhelmed and extinguisht the liberty, peace, and prosperity of this Kingdome, the comfort and hope of all His Majesties good Subjects, and exceedingly weakned and undermined the foundation and strength of his owne Royall Throne; doe yet finde an abounding Malignity, and opposition in those parties and factions, who have beene the cause of those evils, and doe still labour to cast aspersions, upon that which hath beene done, and raise many difficulties, for the hindrance of that which remains yet undone, and to foment jealousies betwixt the King and the *Parliament*; that so they may deprive Him and His People of the fruit of His owne Gracious intentions, and their humble desires of procuring the publike peace, safety, and happinesse of this Realme. For the preventing of those miserable effects which such malicious endeavours may porduce, We have thought good to declare,

1. *The root, and the growth of these mischievous designs.*
2. *The maturitie and ripenesse, to which they have attained before the beginning of the Parliament.*
3. *The effectuall meanes which have beene used for the extirpation of those dangerous evils, and the Progresse which hath therein been made by His Majesties Goodnesse, and the wisdom of the Parliament.*

4. The waies of obstruction and opposition, by which that progresse hath been interrupted.

5. The courses to be taken for the removing those obstacles, and for accomplishing of our most dutifull and faithfull intentions and endeavours of restoring and establishing the ancient Honour, Greatnesse and Security of this Crowne and Nation. The roote of all this mischiefe, wee finde to be a malignant and pernicious designe of subverting the fundamentall Lawes, and principles of Government, upon which the Religion and Justice of this Kingdome are firmly established. The Actors and Promotors hereof have been,

1. The Jesuited Papists who hate the Lawes, as the Obstacles of that change, and subversion of Religion, which they so much long for.

2. The Bishops and the corrupt part of the Clergy, who cherish formality and superstition, as the naturall effects, and more probable supports of their own Ecclesiasticall tyrnny and usurpatlon.

3. Such Counsellors and Courtiers, as for private ends have engaged themselves to further the interests of some forraine Princes or States, to the prejudice of his Majesty and the State at home.

The common principles by which they moulded and governed all their particular counsells and actions were these.

First, to maintaine continuall differences and discontents betwixt the King and the people, upon questions of Prerogative and Liberty, that so they might have the advantage of siding with him, and under the Notions of men addicted to his service, gaine to themselves and their parties, the places of greatest trust and power in the Kingdome.

A second, to suppress the purity and power of Religion, and such persons as were affected to it, as being contrary to their owne ends, and the greatest impediment to that change which they thought to introduce.

A third, to conjoyne those parties of the Kingdome which were most propitious to their owne ends, and to divide those who were most opposite, which consisted in many particular observations, to cherish the Arminian part in those points, wherein they agree with the Papists, to multiply and enlarge the differences betwixt the common Protestants, and those whom they call Puritans, to introduce and countenance such opinions and ceremonies as are fittest for accommodation with Popery, to encrease and maintaine ignorance, loosenesse and prophaneesse in the people, that of those three parties, Papists Arminians, and libertines, they might compose a body fit to act such counsells and resolutions, as were most conducible to their owne ends.

A fourth, to disaffect the King to Parliaments by slanders and false imputations, and by putting him upon other wayes of supply which in shew and appearance were fuller of advantage, then the other of Subsidies, though in truth they brought more losse then gaine both to King and people, and caused the great distractions, under which wee both suffer.

AS in all compounded bodies, the Operations are qualified according to the predominant Element: So in this mixt party, the Jesuited counsells being most active and prevailing, may easily be discovered to have had the greatest sway in all their determinations, and if they be not prevented, are likely to devour the rest, or to turne them into their own nature.

In the beginning of his Majesties reigne, the party begunne to revive and flourish againe, having beene somewhat damp't by the breach with Spaine in the last yeare of King James, and by his Majesties marriage with France; the Interests and Counsells of that State, being not so contrary to the good of Religion, and the prosperity of this Kingdome, as those of Spaine, and the Papists of England having been ever more addicted to Spain then France; yet they still retained a purpose and resolution to weaken the Protestant parties in all parts, and even in France, whereby to make way for the change of Religion, which they intended at home.

The first effect and evidence of their recovery and strength was, the dissolution of the Parliament at Oxford, after there had been given two Subsidies to his Majesty, and before they received reliefe

in any one grievance, many other more miserable effects followed, the losse of the Rochel Fleet, by the helpe of our shipping let forth and delivered over to the French, in opposition to the advice of Parliament, which left the Towne without defence by sea, and made way not onely to the losse of that important place, but likewise to the losse of all the strength and security of the Protestant Religion in France. The diverting of his Majesties course of wars from the West-Indies, which was the most facile and hopefull way for this Kingdome to prevaile against the Spaniard to an expensfull and successlesse attempt upon Cales, which was so ordered, as if it had rather beene intended to make us weary of warre then to prosper in it. The precipitate breach with France by taking their ships to a great value, without making recompence to the English, whose goods were thereupon imbar'd, and confiscate in that Kingdome. The peace with Spaine without consent of Parliament, contrary to the promise of King *James* to both houses, whereby the Palatine cause was deserted and left to chargeable and hopelesse treaties, which for the most part were managed by those who might justly be suspected to be no friends to that cause.

The charging of the Kingdome with billeted souldiers in all parts of it, and that concomitant designe of Germane horse, that this Land might either submit with feare, or be enforced with rigor to such arbitrary contribution as should be required of them. The dissolving of the Parliament in the second yeare of his Majesties reigne, after a declaration of their intent to grant five Subsidies.

The exacting of the like proportion for five Subsidies after the Parliament dissolved, by the commission of Loan, and divers Gentlemen and others imprisoned for not yeelding to pay the loan, whereby many of them contracted such sicknesses as cost them their lives. Great summes of mony required and raised by privy Seales. An unjust and pernicious attempt to extort great payments from the subject by way of Excise, and a commission issued under Seale to that purpose. The petition of Right which was granted in full Parliament, blasted with an illegall declaration to make it destructive to it selfe to the power of Parliament, to the liberty of the Subject, and to that purpose printed with it, and the petition made of no use but to shew the bold and presumptuous injustice of such Ministers as durst breake the Lawes, and suppress the Liberties

ties of the Kingdome; after they had been so solemnly and evidently declared.

Another Parliament dissolved, 4. *Car.* the priviledge of Parliament broken, by imprisoning divers Members of the House, detaining them close prisoners for many Moneths together, without the liberty of using Bookes, Pen, Inke, or Paper, denying them all the comforts of life, all meanes of preservation of health, not permitting their Wives to come unto them, even in time of their sickness. And for the compleating of that cruelty, after yeares spent in such miserable durance, depriving them of the necessary meanes of Spirituall consolation, nor suffering them to goe abroad to enjoy Gods Ordinances, in Gods House, or Gods Ministers to come to them, to administer comfort unto them in their private Chambers: and to keepe them still in this oppressed condition, not admitting them to be Bayled according to Law, yet vexing them with Informations in inferior Courts, sentencing and fining some of them for matters done in Parliament, and extorting the payments of those Fines from them, enforcing others to put in security of good behaviour, before they could be released.

The imprisonment of the rest which refused to be bound, still continued; which might have been perpetuall, if necessity had not the last year brought another Parliament to relieve them; of whom, one died, by the cruelty and harshnesse of his imprisonment, which would admit of no relaxation, notwithstanding the imminent danger of his life, did sufficiently appeare by the declaration of his Physician: And his release, or at least, his refreshment, was sought by many humble Petitions. And his bloud still cries either for vengeance, or repentance of those Ministers of S T A T E, who at once obstructed the course, both of his Majesties Iustice and Mercy.

Vpon the dissolution of both these Parliaments, untrue and scandalous declarations published, to asperse their proceeding, and some of their Members, unjustly to make them odious, and colour the violence which was used against them. Proclamations set out to the same purpose; and to the great dejecting of the hearts of the people, forbidding them, even to speake of Parliaments.

After the breach of the Parliament, in the fourth yeare of His Majesty, Iustice, Oppression, and Violence, broke in upon us, without any restraint or moderation; and yet the first project, was the
great

great summes exacted thorow the whole Kingdome, for default of Knight-hood, which seemed to have some colour and shadow of a Law, yet if it be rightly examined by that absolute Law which was pretended for it, it would be found to be against all the rules of justice, both in respect of the persons charged, the proportion of the Fines demanded, and the absurd and unreasonable manner of the proceedings.

Tonnage and poundage hath beene received without colour or pretence of Law: Many other heaieve impositions continued against Law; and some so unreasonable, that the summe of the charge, exceeds the value of the goods. The Booke of Rates lately inhanfed to a high proportion; and such Merchants as would not submit to their illegal and unreasonable payments, were vexed and oppressed above measure; and the ordinary course of justice, the common Birth-right of the subject of *England*, wholly obstructed unto them. And although all this was taken upon pretence of guarding the Sea, yet a new and unheard of Tax of Ship-mony was devised, upon the same pretence. By both which, there was charged upon the subject neere 700000. l. some yeares; and yet the Merchants have beene left so naked to the violence of the Turkish Pyrats, that many Great Shippes of value, and thousands of His Majestis Subjects have beene taken by them, and doe still remaine in miserable slavery.

The eolargement of Forrests, contrary to *Charta de Foresta*, and the composition thereupon. The exactions of Coat and Conduct mony, and divers other Military charges. The taking away the Armes of the Trayned Bands of divers Counties. The desperate designe of engrossing all the Gunpowder into one hand, keeping it in the Tower of *London*, and setting so high a Rate upon it, that the poorer sort were not able to buy it, nor could any have it without Licence; ; Thereby to leave the severall parts of the Kingdome destitute of their necessary defense; and by selling so deare that which was sold, to make an unlawfull advantage of it, to the great charge and detriment of the subject, the generall destruction of the Kings Timber, especially that in the Forrest of *Dean*, sold to Papists, which was the best Store-house of this Kingdome, for the maintenance of our Shipping, The taking away of mens right, under colour of the Kings title to Land between high and low water-Markes. The Monopolies of Sope, Salt, Wine, Leather, Sea-Cole,

Cole, and in a manner, of all things of most common and necessary use. The restraint of the liberties of the Subjects in their habitation, Trades and other Interests. Their vexation and oppression by Purveyors, Clerkes of the Market, and Salt-Petermen. The sale of pretended Nuzances, as buildings in and about London, conversion of Arable into Pasture, continuance of Pasture, under the name of depopulation, have drawne many Millions out of the Subjects Purses, without any considerable profit to his Majestie. Large quantities of Common, and severall Grounds, have beene taken from the subject, by colour of the Statute of Improvement, and by abuse of the Commission of Sewers, without their consent, and against it. And not only private Interests, but also publike faith have beene broken, in seizing of the money and Bullion in the Mint; and the whole Kingdome like to be robbed at once, in that abominable project of Brasse money. Great numbers of his Majesties Subjects, for refusing those unlawfull charges, have beene vexed with long and expensive suites, some fined and censured, others committed to long and hard imprisonments and confinements, to the losse of health of many, of life in some; and others have had their houses broken up, their goods seized; some have been restrained from their lawfull callings: Ships have been interrupted in their Voyages; surprized at Sea in an Hostile manner, by Projectors, as by a common enemy: Merchants prohibited to unlade their goods in such Ports, as were for their owne advantage, and forced to bring them to those places which were most for the advantages of the Monopolizers and Projectors.

The Court of Star-chamber hath abounded in extravagant censures, not only for the maintenance and improvement of Monopolies, and other unlawfull taxes; but for divers other Causes, where there hath beene no offence, or very small; whereby his Majesties Subjects have beene oppressed by grievous Fines, Imprisonments, Stigmatizings, Mutilations, Whippings, Pillories, Gags, Confinements, Banishments; after so rigid a manner, as hath not only deprived men of the Societie of their Friends, Exercise of their Professions, comfort of Bookes, use of Paper or Inke, but even violated that neere union which God hath established betwixt Men and their Wives, by forced and constrained separation; whereby they have beene bereaved of the comfort and consolation one of another, for many yeares together, without hope of reliefe; if God had not by his overruling providence, given some interruption to the prevailing power and Counsell of those, who were the Authors

and promoters of such peremptory and heady courses,

Judges have been put out of their places, for refusing to doe against their Oaths, and Consciences. Others have been so awed, that they durst not doe their duties, and the better to hold a rod over them; the Clause *Quam diu se bene gesserit*, was left out of their Patents, and a new Clause, *Durante bene-placito*, inserted. Lawyers have beene checked, for being faithfull to their Clients; Solicitors, and Attornies have beene threatned, and some punished for following lawfull Suites. : And by this meanes all the approaches to Iustice were interrupted and forecluded. New Oathes have beene forced upon the Subject against Law; new Iudicatories erected without Law: The Counsell-Table have by their Orders, offered to binde the Subjects in their free holds, Estates, Suits, and Actions. The pretended Court of the Earle Marshall was Arbitrary, and illegal in its being and proceedings. The Chancerie, Exchequer Chamber, Court of Wards, and other English Courts, have beene grievous in exceeding their Iurisdiction. The estate of many Families weakned, and some ruined by excessive Fines, exacted from them for compositions of Wardships. All Leases of above an hundred yeares, made to draw on Wardship contrary to Law. Vndue proceedings used in the finding of Offices, to make the Iury shide for the King. The Common-Law Courts, seeing all men more incline to seeke Iustice there, where it may be fitted to their owne desire, are knowne frequently to forsake the Rules of the Common Law, and straining beyond their bounds, under pretence of equitie, to doe Injustice. Titles of Honour, Iudiciall places, Serjeant-ships at Law, and other Offices have beene sold for great summes of Money, whereby the common Iustice of the Kingdome hath beene much endangered, not onely by opening a way of imployment in places of great Trust, and advantage to Men of weake parts; but also by giving a way to Bribery, Extortion, Partialitie; It seldome happening, that places ill-gotten are well used. Commissions have beene granted for the examining the excessse of Fees: and when great exactions have beene discovered, Compositions have beene made with Delinquents, not onely for the time past, but likewise for immunity and security in offending, for the time to come; which under colour of remedie, hath but confirmed, and encreased the grievances of the Subject.

The usuall course of pricking Sheriffes, not observed, but many

ny times Sheriffes made in an extraordinary way; sometime as a punishment and Charge unto them; sometimes such were pricked out, as would be instruments to execute whatsoever they would have to be done.

The Bishops and the rest of the Clergy, did triumph in the Suspensions, Excommunications, Deprivations, and Degradations of divers painefull, learned, and pious Ministers, in the vexation, and grievous oppression of great numbers of his Majesties good Subjects. The high Commission grew to such excesse of sharpnesse and severitie, as was not much lesse than the Romish Inquisition; and yet in many cases by the Archbishops power, was made much more heavy, being assisted, and strengthened by authority of the Councell-Table.

The Bishops and their Courts, were as eager in the Countrey, and although their jurisdiction could not reach so high in rigour, and extremity of punishment; yet were they no lesse grievous, in respect of the generallitie, and multiplicitie of vexations, which lighting upon the meaner sort of Trades-men, and Artificers, did impoverish many thousands, and so afflict and trouble others, that great numbers to avoid their miseries, departed out of the Kingdome, some into *New-England*, and other parts of *America*; others into *Holland*, where they have transported their Manufactures of Cloth, which is not only a losse by diminishing the present stock of the Kingdome, but a great mischief by impairing and endangering the losse of that peculiar trade of Cloathing, which hath beene a plentiful Fountaine of Wealth and Honour to this Nation.

Those were fittest for Ecclesiasticall preferment, and soonest obtained it, who were most officious in promoting superstition, most virulent in rayling against godlinesse, and honesty.

The most publike and solemne Sermons before his Majestie were, either to advance Prerogative above Law and Decry, the property of the Subject, or full of such kinde of invechies: whereby they might make those odious, who sought to maintaine the Religion, Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdome; and such men were sure to be weeded out of the Commission of the peace, and out of all other employments of power in the Government of the Countrey.

Many Noble Personages were Counsellours in name; but the power and authoritie remained in a few of such as were more addicted to this party; whose resolutions, and determinations

were brought to the Table, for countenance, and execution, and not for debate, and deliberation; and no man could offer to oppose them without disgrace, and hazard to himselfe: Nay, all those that did not wholly concurre and actively contribute to the futherance of their designes: though otherwise, persons of never so great Honour, and Abilities, were so farre from being employed in any place of Trust, and power, that they were neglected, discountenanced, and upon all occasions injured and oppressed.

This Faction was growne to that height, and entirenesse of power, that now they began to thinke of finishing their Worke, which consisted of these three parts.

I.

The Government must be set free from all restraint of Law, concerning our Persons and States.

2.

There must be a conjunction betwixt Papists and Protestants in Doctrine, Discipline, and Ceremonies; only it must not yet be called Poperie.

3.

The Puritans, under which name they include all those that desire to preserve the Lawes, and Liberties of the Kingdome, and to maintaine Religion in the power of it; must be either rooted out of the Kingdome with force, or driven out with feare. For the effecting of this, It was thought necessarie to reduce Scotland to such Popish Superstitions, & Innovations, as might make them apt to joyne with England, in that great change, which was intended. Whereupon new Canons, and a new Liturgie, were prest upon them; and when they refused to admit of them, an Armie was raised to force them to it; towards which the Clergie, and the Papists were very forward in their contribution. The Scots likewise raised an Armie for their

their defence; and when both Armies were come together and ready for a bloody encounter, His Majesties owne gracious disposition, and the Councell of the English Nobilitie, and dutifull submission of the Scots; did so prevaile against the evill counsell of others, that a pacification was made, and His Majestie returned with Peace, and much Honour to London.

The unexpected reconciliation was most acceptable to all the Kingdome, except to the malignant partie, whereof the Archbishop and the Earle of Strafford being heads, they and their faction began to enveigh against the peace, and to aggravate the proceeding of the States, which so incensed His Majestie, that he forthwith prepared againe for Warre. And such was their confidence, that having corrupted and distempered the whole frame and Government of the Kingdome, they did now hope to corrupt that, which was the onely meanes to restore all to a right frame and temper againe: to which end they perswaded his Majestie to call a Parliament, not to seek Counsell and advice of them, but to draw Countenance and Supply from them, and engage the whole Kingdome in their quarrell: and in the meane time continued all their unjust Levies of money, resolving either to make the Parliament pliant to their Will, and to establish mischief by a Law, or else to breake it; and with more colour to goe on by violence, to take what they could not obtaine by consent. The ground alledged for the justification of this Warre was this.

That the undutifull demands of the Parliament of Scotland, was a sufficient reason for his Majestie to take armes against them without the hearing the Reason of those demands; and thereupon a new Armie was prepared against them, their Ships were seized in all Ports, both in England and Ireland, and at Sea. Their Petitions rejected; their Commissioners refused audience. This whole Kingdome most miserably distempered with levies of men and money, and imprisonments of those who denyed to submit to those Levies. The Earle of Strafford past into Ireland, caused the Parliament there to declare against the Scots, to give foure Subsidies towards that War; and to engage themselves, their lives and fortunes for the prosecution of it, and gave directions for an Armie of eight thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse to be levied there, which were for the most part Papists. The Parliament met upon

the thirteenth of Aprill, one thousand six hundred and forty. The Earle of St. afford and Archbishop of Canterbury with their parties so prevailed with his Majestie, that the House of Commons was prest to yeeld to a supply for the maintainance of the warre with Scotland, before they had provided any reliefe for the great and pressing grievances of the people, which being against the fundamentall priviledge and proceeding of Parliament, was yet in humble respect to his Majestie, so farre admitted, as that they agreed to take the matter of supply into consideration, and two severall dayes, it was debated. Twelve Subsidies were demanded for the releafe of Ship-money alone; a third day was appointed for Conclusion, when the heads of that party began to feare the people might close with the King in satisfiying his desires of money: But that withall they were like to blast their malicious designs against Scotland, finding them very much indisposed to give any countenance to that warre.

Thereupon they wickedly advised the King to breake off the Parliament, and to returne to the wayes of confusion, in which their owne evill intentions were most like to prosper and succeed.

After the Parliament ended the 5. of May, 1640. this party grew so bold, as to counsell the King to supply himselfe out of his Subjects states by his owne power, at his owne Will, without their consent. The very next day some members of both Houses had their Studies and Cabinets, yea their Pockets searched; Another of them not long after was committed close prisoner for not delivering some Petitions which he received by authority of that House, and if harsher courses were intended (as was reported) it is very probable that the sicknesse of the Earle of Strafford, and the tumultuous rising in Southwark, and about Lambeth, were the causes that such violent intentions were not brought to execution. A false and scandalous Declaration against the House of Commons was published, in his Majesties Name, which yet wrought little effect with the people, but only to manifest the impudence of those who were authors of it.

A forced Loan of Money was attempted in the Citie of London.

The Major and Aldermen in their severall Wards enjoyned to bring in a list of the Names of such persons as they judged fit to lend, and of the summe they should lend. And such Aldermen as refused to doe were committed to prison.

The Archbishop and the other Bishops and Clergie continued the Convocation, and by a new Commission turned it to a Provinciall Synod

Synod, in which by an unheard of presumption, they made *Canons* that containe in them many matters contrary to the Kings Prerogative, to the fundamentall Lawes and Statutes of the Realme, to the right of *Parliaments*, to the Property and Liberty of the Subject, and matters tending to sedition and of dangerous consequence, thereby establishing their owne Usurpation, justifying their Altar-worship, and those other superstitious Innovations which they formerly introduced, without warrant of Law.

They imposed a new Oath upon diverse of His Majesties Subjects, both *Ecclesiasticall* and *Lay*, for maintenance of their owne Tyranny; and laid a great Taxe upon the Clergie for supply of his Majesty; and generally they shewed themselves very affectionate to the Warre with *Scotland*, which was by some of them stiled *Bellum Episcopale*, and a Prayer composed, and enjoined to be read in all Churches, calling the *Scots*, *Rebels*, to put the two Nations into blood, and make them irreconcilable. All those pretended *Canons* and *Constitutions* were armed with the severall Censures of *Suspension*, *Excommunication*, *Deprivation*, by which they would have thrust out all good Ministers, and most of the well affected people of the Kingdome, and left an easie passage to their owne Designe of Reconciliation with *Rome*. The *Popish* party enjoyed such Exemptions from the *Penall Lawes* as mounted to a Tolleration, besides many other encouragements, and Court favours: They had a Secretary of State, *Sr. Francis Windebanke*, a powerfull Agent for the speeding of all their desires, a *Popes Nuntio* residing here to act and governe them according to such influences as hee received from *R O M E*, and to intercede for them with the most powerfull concurrence of the forraigne Princes of that Religion: By his authority the *Papists* of all sorts, Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy were Convocated, after the manner of a *Parliament* new jurisdictions were erected of *Romish Arch-Bishops*, Taxes levied, another State moulded within this State independant in Government, contrary in interest and affection, secretly corrupting the Ignorant, or negligent professors of our Religion, and closely uniting and combining themselves against such as were sound, in this posture waiting for an opportunity by force to destroy those whom they could not hope to seduce. For the effecting whereof, they were strengthened with Armes and Munition, encouraged by superstitious Prayers, enjoined by the *Nuntio* to bee weekly made for the prosperity of some great designe. And such power had they at Court, that secretly a Commission was issued out, intended to be issued to some great Men

Men of that profession for the levying of Souldiers, and to command and employ them according to private Instructions, which wee doubt were framed for the advantage of those who were the contrivers of them : His MAJESTIES Treasure was consumed, His Revenue anticipated. His Servants and Officers compelled to lend great summes of Money : Multitudes were called to the *Council Table*, who were tired with long attendances there, for refusing illegall payments. The *Prisons* were filled with their Commitments ; many of the Sheriffes summoned into the *Star-Chamber*, and some imprisoned for not being quick enough in levying the ship-mony, the people languished under grief, and feare, no visible hope being left, but in desperation. The Nobilitie began to be weary of their silence, and patience, and sensible of the duty and trust which belongs to them : and thereupon some of the most eminent of them did petition His Majestie at such a time when evill Counsels were so strong that they had reason to expect more hazard to themselves, than redresse of those publike evils for which they interceded, whilst the Kingdome was in this Agitation and distemper, the *Scots* restrained in their Trades, impoverished by the losse of many of their Ships, bereaved of all possibility of satisfying His Majestie by any naked Supplication, entred with a powerfull Army into the Kingdome, and without any hostile Act or spoile in the Countrey as they passed, more then forcing a passage over the *Tyne* at *Newborne*, neere *Newcastle*, possessed themselves of *Newcastle*, and had a faire opportunity to presse on further upon the Kings Army : but duty and reverence to His Majesty, and brotherly love to the *English* Nation, made them stay there, whereby the King had leasure to entertain better Counsels, wherein God so blessed and directed him, that he summoned the Great Councell of Peers to meet at *Torke*, upon the 20. fourth of *Septem.* and there declared a Parliament to begin the 3. of *Novem.* then following. The *Scots* the first day of the Great Councell, presented an humble Petition to His Majesty, whereupon the Treaty was appointed at *Rippon*. A present Cessation of Armes agreed upon : and the full Conclusion of all differences referred to the wisdom and care of the Parliament. At our first meeting all Oppositions seemed to vanish, the mischiefs were so evident, which those evill Councellours produced, that no man durst stand up to defend them, Yet the worke it selfe afforded difficulty enough. The multiplied evils and corruption of sixteene years strengthened by Custome and authority, and the concurrent interest of many powerfull delinquents were now to be brought to Judge-

judgement and Reformation. The Kings Household was to be provided for, they had brought him to that want, that he could not supply His Ordinary, and necessary expences, without the assistance of his people. Two Armies were to be paid, which amounted very neere to 80. thousand pounds a moneth; the people were to bee tenderly charged, having bin formerly exhausted with many burthensome Projects. The difficulties seemed to bee insupportable, which by the Divine Providence wee have overcome. The Contraries incompatible, which in a great measure we have reconciled, Sixe Subsidies have beene granted, and a Bill of Poll-money, which if duely levied, may equall fixe Subsidies more; in all, Sixe hundred thousand pounds. Besides wee have contracted a Debt to the *Scots* of 200. and twenty thousand pounds; and yet God hath so blessed the endeavours of this Parliament, that the Kingdome is a great gainer by all these charges. The Ship-money is abolished, which cost the Kingdome above 200. thousand pounds a Yeare. The Coat and Conduct money, and other military charges, are taken away, which in many Countries amounted to little lesse than the Ship-money. The Monopolies are all suppressed, whereof some few did prejudice the Subject, above a Million yearly. The Soape an hundred thousand pounds; the Wine three hundred thousand pounds; the Leather must needs exceede both: and Salt could bee no lesse than that, besides the inferiour Monopolies, which if they could bee exactly computed, would make up a great summe. That which is more beneficiall then all this is, that the roote of these evils is taken away, which was the arbitrary power pretended to bee in His Majesty, of taxing the Subject, or charging their estates without consent in Parliament, which is now declared to bee against Law by the judgement of both Houses, and likewise by an Act of Parliament. Another steppe of great advantage is this: the living Grievances, the evill Counsellors, and Actors of these mischiefs have beene so quelled, by the Justice done upon the Earle of *Strafford*, flight of the *L O R D Finch*, and Secretary *Windebanke*. The accusation and imprisonment of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, of Judge *Bartles*, and the impeachment of diverse other Bishops and Judges, that it is like not onely to bee an ease to the present times, but a preservation to the future. The discontinuance of Parliaments is prevented by the Bill for a Trienniall Parliament, and the abrupt dissolution of this P A R L I A M E N T by another Bill; by which it is provided it shall not bee dissolved

or adjourned without the consent of both Houses. Which two Lawes well considered, may be thought more advantageous than all the former, because they secure a full operation of the present remedy, and afford a perpetuall Spring of remedies for the future: The Starre-Chamber, the High Commission, the Courts of the President, and Counsell in the North, were so many forges of Misery, oppression, and violence, and are all taken away, whereby men are more secured in their persons, liberties, and estates; then they could bee by any Law or Example for the regulation of those Courts, or Terrour of the Judges; The immoderate power of the Councell Table, and the excessive abuse of that power is so ordered and restrained, that wee may well hope that no such things as are frequently done by them, to the prejudice of the publike liberty, will appeare in future times but onely in stories, to give us and our posterity more occasion to praise God for his Majesties goodnesse, and the faithfull endeavours of this Parliament. The Canons, and the power of Canon making, are blasted by the Vote of both Houses. The exorbitant power of Bishops, and their Courts, are much abated by some Provisions in the Bill against the High Commission Court. The Authors of the many Innovations in Doctrine and Ceremonies; The Ministers that have beene scandalous in their lives, have beene so terrified in just complaints and accusations, that wee may well hope they will bee more modest for the time to come; either inwardly convicted by the sight of their own folly, or outwardly restrained by the feare of punishment. The Forrests are by a good Law reduced to their right bounds; The encroachments and oppression of the Stannarie Courts: The Exortions of the Clerke of the Market, and the Compulsion of the Subject to receive the order of Knighthood against his will, paying of Fines for not receiving it, and the vexatious proceedings thereupon for levying of these Fines, are by other beneficial Lawes reformed and prevented. Many excellent Lawes and provisions are in preparation for removing the inordinate power, vexation, and usurpation of Bishops; for reforming the pride and idleness of many of the Clergy, for easing the people of unnecessary Ceremonies in Religion, for censuring and removing unworthy and unprofitable Ministers; and for maintaining godly and diligent Preachers through the Kingdome: Other things of many importance for the good of this Kingdome, are in proposition, though little could hitherto bee done, in regard of
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the many other more pressing businesses, which yet before the end of the Session, we hope may receive some progresse and perfection. The establishing and ordering the Kings Revenue, that so the abuse of Officers, and superfluity of expences may cut off, and the necessary disbursements for his Majestie Honor, the defence and government of the Kingdome, may bee more certainly provided for. The regulating of Courts of Iustice, and abridging both the delayes and charges of Law suits; The settling of some good courses for preventing the exportation of Gold and Silver, and the inequality of exchange betwixt us, and other Nations, for the advancing of native Commodities, increas of our Manufactures, and well ballancing of Trade, whereby the stock of the Kingdome may be increased, or at least kept from impairing, as thorow neglect hereof it hath done for many yeares last past; For improving the Herring fishing, upon our owne Coasts, which will be of mighty use in the imployment of the poore, and a plentiful Nurlery of Mariners for inabling the Kingdome in any great Action. The oppositions, obstructions, and other Difficulties wherewith we have beene encountred, and which still lye in our way, with some strength and much obstinacy are these; The malignant party, whom we have formerly described, to be the actors and promoters of all our misery, they have taken heart againe; They have beene able to prefer some of their own Factors and Agents to degrees of honour, to places of trust and imployment even during the Parliament. They have endeavoured to worke in his Majesty ill impressions and opinions of Our proceedings, as if we had altogether done our owne worke, and not His, and had obtained from him many things very prejudiciall to the Crown, both in respect of Prerogative and profit. To wipe out this slander, We thinke good onely to say thus much: That all that We have done is for his Majesty, His greatesse, honour, and support, when Wee yieled to give 25000 £. a moneth for the reliefe of the Northerne Countries, this was given to the King, for hee was bound to protect his subjects, they were his Majesties evill Councillors, and their ill instruments that were actors in those grievances which brought in the Scots; and if his Majesty please to force those who were the Authors of this warre to make satisfaction, as

he might justly and easily doe, it seemes very reasonable, that the people might well be excused from taking upon them this burthen, being altogether innocent, and free from being any causes of it.

When wee undertooke the charge of the Army, which cost above 50000 pound a moneth; was not this given to the King? was it not his Majesties Armie? were not all the Commanders under contract of his Majestie, at higher rates, and greater wages than ordinarie? and have not we taken upon us to discharge all the brotherly assistance of three hundred thousand pounds, which wee gave the Scots? was it not toward repaire of those dammages and losses which they received from the Kings ships, and from his Ministers? these three particulars amount to above 1100. thousand pound, besides his Majesty hath received by impositions upon Merchandise, at least 400. thousand pounds, so that his Majesty hath had out of the Subjects purse, since the Parliament began, one million and halfe, and yet these men can be so impudent, as to tell his Majestie, that we have done nothing for him. As to the second branch of this slander, wee acknowledge with much thankfulness that his Majestie hath passed more good Bills to the advantage of the Subjects, then hath beene in many ages; but withall we cannot forget, that these venomous Counsells did manifest themselves in some endeavours to hinder these good Acts: And for both Houses of Parliament, wee may with truth and modestie say thus much, That we have ever beene carefull not to desire any thing that should weaken the Crowne, either in just profit, or usefull power. The trienniall Parliament, for the matter of it, doth not extend to so much, as by the Law wee ought to have required, there being two Statutes stil in force for a Parliament to be once a yeare, and for the manner of it, it is in the Kings power, that it shall never take effect, if hee by timely summons shall prevent any other way of assembling. In the Bill for continuance of this present Parliament, there seemes to be some restraint of the royall power in dissolving of Parliaments, not to take it out of the Crowne, but to suspend the execution of it for this time and occasion onely, which was so necessary for the Kings owne security, and the publike peace, that without it wee could not have undertaken any of these great charges

charges, but must have left both the Armies to disorder and confusion, and the whole Kingdome to blood and rapin. The Star-chamber was much more fruitful in oppression, than in profit, the great fines being for the most part given away, and the rest stalled at long times.

The fines of the High Commission were in themselves unjust and seldome or never came into the Kings purse. These foure Bills are particularly and more specially instanced, in the rest, there will not be found so much as a shadow of prejudice to the Crowne. They have sought to diminish our reputation with the people, and to bring them out of love with Parliaments: the aspersions which they have attempted this way, have beene such as these; That we have spent much time, and done little, especially in those grievances which concerne Religion. That the Parliament is a burthen to the Kingdome, by the abundance of Protections, which hinder Justice and Trade, and by many Subsidies granted much more heavy than any they formerly endured; to which there is a ready answer: If the time spent in this Parliament be considered in relation backward to the long growth and deep root of those grievances, which wee have removed, to the powerfull supports of those delinquents which we have pursued, to the great necessities and other charges of the Common-wealth for which we have provided: or if it be considered in relation forward to many advantages, which not onely the present, but future ages are like to reape by the good Lawes and other proceedings in this Parliament, we doubt not but it will bee thought by all indifferent judgements that our time hath beene much better employed than in a far greater proportion of time in many former Parliaments put together; and the charges which have beene laid upon the Subjects, and the other inconveniences which they have borne; will seeme very light, in respect of the benefit they have and may receive.

And for the matter of Protections, the Parliament is so sensible of it, that therein they intend to give them whatsoever ease may stand with Honour and Justice; and are in a way of passing a Bill to give them satisfaction. They have sought by many subtile practices, to cause jealousies and divisions betwixt us and our brethren of *Scotland*, by slandering their proceedings, and intentions towards us; and by secret endeavours

to infligate and incense them and us one against another. They have had such a party of Bishops and popish Lords in the house of Peers, as hath caused much opposition and delay in the prosecution of delinquents, hindred the proceedings of divers good Bills passed in the Commons House, concerning the Reformation of sundry great abuses and corruptions both in Church & State. They have labored to seduce & corrupt some of the Commons House, to draw them into conspiracies and Combinations against the liberty of the Parliament: & by their instruments and agents they have attempted to disaffect and discontent his Majesties Army, and to ingage it for the maintenance of their wicked and trayterous designs, the keeping up of Bishops in their Votes and Functions, and by force to compell the Parliament to order, limit, and dispose their proceedings in such manner as might best concur with the intentions of this dangerous and potent Faction: And when one mischievous designe, and attempt of theirs to bring on the Army against the Parliament, and the City of *London* had beene discovered and prevented, they presently undertook another of the same damnable nature, with this addition to it, to endeavour to make the Scottish Army naturall, whilst the English Army which they had corrupt and invenome against us by their false and slanderous suggestions, should execute their malice to the subversion of our Religion, and the dissolution of our government. Thus they have bin continually practising to disturb the peace, & plotting the destruction even of all the Kings Dominions, and have employed their emissaries and agents in them all, for the promoting of their devillish designs, which the vigilancy of those who were wel-affected, hath still discovered and defeated before they were ripe for execution in *England* and *Scotland*: onely in *Ireland* which was further off, they have had time and opportunity to mould and prepare their worke, and had brought it to that perfection, that they had possessed themselves of that whole Kingdome, totally subverted the government of it, rooted out Religion, and destroyed all the Protestants, whom the conscience of their duty to God, their King and Country would not have permitted to joyn with them, if by Gods wonderfull providence their maine enterprize upon the City and Castle of *Dublin* had not beene detected and prevented upon the very

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Eve before it should have beene executed. Notwithstanding
 they have in other parts of that Kingdome broken out into re-
 bellion, surpris'd Townes and Castles, committed murders,
 rapes, and other villanies; and shaken off all bonds of obedience
 to his Majesty; and the Lawes of the Realme; and in generall
 have kindled such a fire, as nothing but Gods infinite blessing
 upon the wisdome & endeavoures of this State will be able to
 quench it: and certainly had not God in his great mercy unto
 this Land discovered and confounded their former designs, we
 had been the Prologue of this Tragedy in *Ireland*. and had by
 this time been made the lamentable spectacle of misery and con-
 fusion. And now what hope have we but in God, when as the
 onely means of our subsistence, and power of reformation is un-
 der him, in the Parliament; but what can wee the Commons
 without the conjunction of the House of Lords, and what con-
 junction can we expect there, when the Bishops and Recusant
 Lords are so numerous & prevalent, that they are able to crosse
 and interrupt our best endeavours for reformation, and by that
 meanes give advantage to this malignant party to traduce our
 proceedings. They infuse into the people, that wee meane to a-
 bolish all Church government, and leave every man to his owne
 fancy for the service and worship of God absolving him of that
 obedience which he owes under God unto his Majesty, whom
 we know to be intrusted with the Ecclesiasticall Law, as well as
 with the Temporal, to regulate all the members of the Church of
England, by such rules of order and Discipline as are established
 by Parliament, which in his great Councel in all affaires both in
 Church and state. We confesse our intention is and our endea-
 vours have been to reduce within the bounds that exorbitant
 power which the Prelates have assumed unto themselves, so con-
 trary both to the Word of God, and to the Lawes of the Land,
 to which end wee past the Bill for the removing them from
 their Temporall power, and imployments, that so the better
 they might with meekenesse, apply themselves to the discharge
 of their functions, which Bill themselves opposed and were the
 principall instruments of crossing it.

And we doe here declare, that it is far from our purpose or de-
 sire to let loose the golden reynes of Discipline and Govern-
 ment

ment in the Church, to leave private persons or particular Congregations, to take up what forme of divine Service they please; for wee hold it requisite that there should bee throughout the whole Realme, a conformity to that Order, which the Lawes enjoyne, according to the Word of God : and we desire to unburthen the consciences of men of needlesse and superstitious Ceremonies, suppressive Innovations, and take away the Monuments of Idolatry. And the better to effect the intended Reformation, we desire there may be a generall Synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious Divines of this Island, assisted with some from foraine parts, professing the same Religion with us, who may consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the Church, and represent the results of their consultations unto the Parliament, to bee there allowed of and confirmed, and receive the stampe of Authority thereby to finde passage and Obedience throughout the Kingdome. They have maliciously charged us, that wee intend to destroy and discourage Learning, whereas it is our chiefest care and desire to advance it, and to provide a competent maintenance for conscionable and preaching Ministers throughout the Kingdome, which will be a great encouragement to Schollers, and a certaine meanes whereby the want, meanenesse, and ignorance, to which a great part of the Clergy is now subject, will be prevented. And wee intend likewise to reforme, and purge the fountaines of Learning the two Universities, that the streames flowing from thence may be cleare and pure, and an honour and comfort to the whole Land. They have strayed to blast our proceedings in Parliament, by wresting the interpretations of our Orders from their genuine intention. They tell the people that our meddling with the power of Episcopacy, hath caused Sectaries and Conventicles, when Idolatry and popish Ceremonies introduced in the Church, by the command of the Bishops have not only debarred the people from thence, but expelled them from the Kingdom. Thus with *Eliab* we are cald by this malignant party, the troublers of the State and still while we endeavour to reforme their abuses, they make us the authors of those mischies we study to prevent : for the perfecting of the worke begun and removing all future impediments, wee con-

conceive these courses will be very effectually, seeing the Religion of the Papists, hath such principles as do certainly tend to the destruction and extirpation of all Protestants, when they shall have opportunity to effect it.

It is necessary in the first place to keep them in such a condition, as that they may not be able to do us any hurt, and for avoyding of such connivence and favour as hath heretofore been shewed unto them: That his Majesty bee pleased to grant a standing Commission unto some choyce men named in Parliament, who may take notice of their encrease, their counsels and proceedings, and use all due meanes by execution of the Lawes, to prevent all mischievous designs, against the peace and safety of this Kingdome. That some good course bee taken to discover the counterfeite and false conformity of Papists to the Church, by colour wherof persons very much disaffected to the true Religion, have beene admitted into place of greatest authority and trust in the Kingdome.

For the better preservation of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdome, that all illegall grievances and exactions be presented, and punished at the Sessions, and Assizes: and that Iudges and Iustices be very carefull to give this in charge to the grand Jury, and both the Sheriffe and Iustices to be sworne to the due execution of the petition of right and other Lawes: That His Majesty be humbly petitioned by both Houses, to employ such Counsellors, Ambassadors, and other Ministers, in managing His businesse at home and abroad, as the Parliament may have cause to confide in, without which wee cannot give his Majesty such supplies for support of His owne estate, nor such assistance to the Protestant party beyond the Sea, as is desired. It may often fall out that the Commons may have just cause to take exceptions at some men for being Counsellors, and yet not charge those men with crimes, for there bee grounds of diffidence, which lye not in prooffe: there are others, which though they may be proved, yet are not legally criminall, to be a knowne favourer of Papists, or to have beene very forward in defending or countenancing some great offenders, questioned in Parliament, or to speake contemptuously of either Houses of Parliament, or Parliamentary proceedings, or such as are fa-
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ctors or agents: nor any forraigne Prince of another Religion, such are justly suspected to get Counsellors places, or any other of trust, concerning publique employment of money: For all these and divers others, we may have great reason to be earnest with His Majesty, not to put His great affaires into such hands though we may be unwilling to proceed against them in any legall way of charge or impeachment: That all Counsellours of State may be sworn to observe those Lawes which concern the Subject in his liberty, that they may likewise take an oath, not to receive or give reward or pension from any forraigne Prince, but such as they shall within some reasonable time discover to the Lords of His Majesties Counsell: And although they should wickedly forswear themselves, yet it may herein do good, to make them knowne to be false and perjured, to those who employ them, and thereby bring them into as little credit with them as with us. That His Majesty may have cause to bee in love with good Counsell and good men, by shewing him in an humble and dutifull manner, how full of advantage it would be to himself, to see his own estate settled in a plentiful condition, to support his honour, to see his people united in wayes of duty to him, and endeavours of the publique good; to see happiness, wealth, peace, and safety derived to his own Kingdom, and procured to his Allies, by the influence of his owne power and government. That all good courses may be taken to unite the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*, to bee mutually aiding and assisting of one another for the common good of the Island, and honour of both.

To take away all differences amongst our selves for matters indifferent in their owne nature, concerning Religion; and to unite our selves against the common enemies, which are the better enabled by our divisions to destroy us all, as they hope and have often endeavoured. To labour by all offices of friendship to unite the forraigne Churches with us in the same cause, and to seeke their liberty, safety, and prosperity, as bound therunto, both by charity to them, and by wisdom for our owne good. For by this meanes our own strength shall be increased, and by a mutual concurrence to the same common end, we shall bee enabled to procure the good of the whole body of the Protestant

te stant profession. If these things may be observed, wee doubt not but God will crowne this Parliament with such successe as shall be the beginning, and foundation of more honour and happinesse to His Majesty, than ever yet was enjoyed by any of His Royall Predecessors.

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to the effect that the same is not to be
used for any other purpose than the
one for which it was originally intended
and that it is not to be used for any
other purpose than the one for which it
was originally intended.

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